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TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER) SUBJ: PRESS MATERIAL

- 1. FOLLOWING IS PART II OF TIME MAGAZINE COVER STORY ON SECRETARY:
- 2. FLEXIBLE TACTICIAN. KISSINGER APPROACHES NEGOTIATIONS, NOT AS A LAWYER TRYING TO DISPOSE OF A CASE, BUT AS AN INTELLECTUAL AND HISTORIAN. HIS THOROUGH STEEPING IN THE FACTS ABOUT A COUNTRY AND ITS PROBLEMS SELDOM FAILS TO IMPRESS GOVERNMENT LEADERS. ALTHOUGH A FLEXIBLE TACTICIAN, HE WILL, IF NECESSARY, PRESENT A PROPOSAL OVER AND OVER IN HOPES OF GETTING IT ACCEPTED. IN PARIS DURING 1972, NEGOTIATING AN END TO U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE VIETNAMESE WAR, KISSINGER OFTEN WORKED DOUBLE SESSIONS, SEEING THE NORTH AND SOUTH VIETNAMESE SEPARATELY AND AT LENGTH IN SEARCH OF WAYS TO BRING THE TWO ANTAGONISTS CLOSER. HE ESTABLISHED A RESPECTFUL RELATIONSHIP WITH HANOI'S CHIEF REPRESENTATIVE LE DUC THO, DESPITE HIS EXASPERATION WITH UNCLASSIFIED

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THE DOGGEDLY HORTATORY NORTH VIETNAMESE APPROACH TO

NEGOTIATIONS.

3. KISSINGER HAS A FINELY TUNED SENSE OF HIERARCHY AND ADDRESSES THOSE HE DEALS WITH IN SUBTLY DIFFERING WAYS. WHEN HE MEETS ISRAELI LEADERS, FOR INSTANCE, KISSINGER CALLS GOLDA MEIR "MADAME PRIME MINISTER," WHILE DAYAN

AND ALLON ARE ALWAYS "MOSHE" AND "YIGAL." FOREIGN MINISTER ABBA EBAN, BY CONTRAST, IS SIMPLY "EBAN." EXPLAINS ONE PARTICIPANT IN THEIR TALKS: "FOR MRS. MEIR HE HAS HIGH RESPECT, WITH DAYAN GOOD RAPPORT, WITH ALLON COMRADESHIP. WITH EBAN THERE IS NOT MUCH MORE THAN A COLLEAGUE-TO-COLLEAGUE RELATIONSHIP, SINCE EBAN IS THE SILENT MAN ON THE TEAM WHO DOES NOT HAVE MUCH TO SAY." ALTHOUGH SADAT ADDRESSES HIS "DEAR FRIEND" AS "HENRY," KISSINGER CALLS THE EGYPTIAN LEADER "MR. PRESIDENT."

- 4. ONCE HE BEGINS NEGOTIATIONS, THE PARTICULAR KISSINGER MYSTIQUE BEGINS TO OPERATE, AND THAT IN ITSELF IS ALMOST A HARBINGER OF SUCCESS. WIT AND HUMOR ARE KEY WEAPONS. AFTER MANY YEARS OF CONFERENCES AND CONFRONTATIONS, HE HAS EVEN RELAXED POKER-FACED SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREI GROMYKO TO THE POINT THAT THEY CAN KID EACH OTHER ABOUT THE RECORDING DEVICES HIDDEN IN ROOMS THEY ARE USING.
- 5. DURING ONE SENSITIVE STAGE OF LAST FALL'S DISENGAGEMENT NEGOTIATIONS, KISSINGER FELT THAT THE ISRAELIS WERE TRYING TO PROPOSE MORE THAN THE EGYPTIANS WERE PREPARED TO CONSIDER. HE ADVISED THE ISRAELIS TO HOLD BACK A BIT. WHEN AN EDGY CABINET MINISTER DECLARED THAT IT WOULD BE WRONG TO OFFER LESS THAN ISRAEL WAS GENUINELY WILLING TO CONCEDE, KISSINGER SMILED AND ANSWERED: "DON'T PUSH IT. BE DESPICABLE--LIKE ME." HE FEELS THAT TENSION-EASING BANTER CAN OFTEN HELP NEGOTIATIONS PROCEED SMOOTHLY, WHICH MAY EXPLAIN IN PART HIS LACK OF SUCCESS WITH RELATIVELY HUMORLESS JAPANESE DIPLOMATS.
- 6. ONCE TALKS BEGIN IN EARNEST, HOWEVER, KISSINGER CAN BECOME DEADLY SERIOUS AND WHOLLY PRAGMATIC. SAYS ONE MIDDLE EASTERN DIPLOMAT: "HE DOES NOT MAKE VALUE UNCLASSIFIED

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JUDGMENTS. THE QUESTION FOR HIM IS NOT WHO IS RIGHT AND WHO IS WRONG. THE QUESTION IS WHAT IN REALITY CAN BE ACHIEVED UNDER THE PREVAILING CIRCUMSTANCES." KISSINGER FREQUENTLY STAGE-MANAGES NEGOTIATIONS TO PRODUCE THE RIGHT KIND OF "ATMOSPHERICS." SAID COSTA RICA'S FOREIGN MINISTER GONZALO FACIO, AFTER THE MEXICO CITY CONFERENCE: "WHEN HE HAS A TOUGH RESPONSE, HE LAYS IT ON GENTLY BUT CLEARLY. BUT WHEN HE HAS GOOD NEWS, HE WARMS UP LIKE

A VIENNESE GOOD FAIRY, ALL SUGAR PLUMS AND SCHLAG (WHIPPED CREAM)."

7. FIVE-MINUTE DEAL. THE SCHLAG IS MORE THAN TOPPING. IN GENEVA LAST DECEMBER, EGYPT ALMOST SCOTCHED THE FIRST MEETING OF THE U.N.-SPONSORED TALKS WITH ISRAEL ON DISENGAGEMENT BY OBJECTING TO THE SEATING ARRANGEMENTS.

THE EGYPTIANS DEMANDED AN EMPTY TABLE BETWEEN THEMSELVES AND THE ISRAELIS FOR DISANCE, WITH THE ISRAELIS SITTING NEXT TO THE AMERICANS LIKE SATELLITES. THE ISRAELIS BLUNTLY REFUSED. AT THAT POINT, RECALLS ONE PARTICIPANT, KISSINGER "ENTERED THE ROOM SMILING AND CRACKING JOKES. HE EXCLAIMED WHAT A PLEASURE IT WAS TO SEE ABBA EBAN. (THEY HAD BREAKFASTED TOGETHER.) GRABBING EBAN BY AN ELBOW, KISSINGER TOOK HIM ASIDE. THE EGYPTIANS WERE IN A BIND, KISSINGER EXPLAINED. THEY WERE EMBARRASSED BECAUSE THE SYRIANS HAD REFUSED TO JOIN THE TALKS AND NEEDED TO AVOID THE APPEARANCE OF BEING TOO EASY WITH THE ISRAELIS. WOULD THE ISRAELIS CONSENT TO MAKE SOME ADJUSTMENTS IN THE SEATING? 'YOU DON'T LIKE THE EMPTY TABLE? NO? WHAT ABOUT ANOTHER PLAN, AN ARRANGEMENT THAT WOULD PLACE THE ISRAELIS BETWEEN THE RUSSIANS AND THE U.N. DELEGATION?' IF THE ISRAELIS AGREED, HE WOULD TRY THE IDEA ON THE EGYPTIANS. IN FIVE MINUTES, A DEAL WAS REACHED, AND THE TALKS MOVED AHEAD WITH THE ISRAELIS NEXT TO THE SOVIETS AND THE EGYPTIANS ALONGSIDE THE AMERICANS IN A SYMBOLICALLY IMPORTANT GAME OF POLITICAL MUSICAL CHAIRS. THE ICE HAD BEEN BROKEN LARGELY BY KISSINGER'S WARM PERSONALITY AND, EVEN IN THIS RELATIVELY MINOR DISPUTE. HIS ACCURATE SENSING OF WHAT EACH SIDE COULD OR COULD NOT YIELD ON."

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8. BACKGROUND MUSIC. AS PART OF HIS "ATMOSPHERICS," KISSINGER AT TIMES UNABASHEDLY USES THE AMERICAN PRESS CORPS THAT TRAVELS WITH HIM ABOARD AIR FORCE TWO. DURING THE SHUTTLE FLIGHTS BETWEEN JERUSALEM AND ASWAN IN JANUARY, WHICH EVENTUALLY LED TO DISENGAGEMENT ALONG THE SUEZ CANAL, THE PRESS WAS AN INTEGRAL PART OF KISSINGER'S DIPLOMATIC GAP CLOSING. WHENEVER HE WAS ASKED HOW FAR ALONG THE NEGOTIATIONS HAD COME, KISSINGER WOULD ANSWER, "OH, 60 COMPLETED." THE NEXT TIME IT WAS 75 AND THE NEXT 90. AS THE TWO SIDES KEPT READING THESE DAILY STORIES, THEY COULD NOT HELP BEING NUDGED INTO BELIEVING THAT A SETTLEMENT WAS NEARLY AT HAND. "HE PLAYED THE PRESS LIKE A CELLO," RECALLS ONE REPORTER. "WE CREATED ALL THE BACKGROUND MUSIC HE NEEDED."

9. IN RETURN FOR SUCH ORCHESTRATION, HOWEVER, KISSINGER IS MORE AVAILABLE TO JOURNALISTS THAN ANY OTHER MAJOR FIGURE IN THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION AND MORE OPEN THAN ANY OTHER SECRETARY OF STATE IN RECENT YEARS. ON LONG FLIGHTS ABOARD AIR FORCE TWO HE WILL WANDER INTO THE PRESS SECTION TO TRADE NEWS OR SIMPLY CHAT. AT SUCH MOMENTS HE IS UNPROFESSIONALLY INFORMAL AND OFTEN BRUTALLY CANDID IN HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE LEADERS HE HAS

JUST TALKED TO. SHIRT OPEN, STOMACH BULGING, HE WILL COMPLAIN: "WHEN I NEGOTIATE I GET NERVOUS, AND WHEN I GET NERVOUS I EAT. WHEN I GET RID OF THIS ARAB-ISRAELI THING, I AM GOING TO WEIGH 350 LBS." NEWSMEN ENJOY THE PROXIMITY TO KISSINGER AND THE THOROUGHNESS OF HIS BRIEFINGS, BUT THEY ALSO COMPLAIN THAT HE CAN OCCASIONALLY BE DEVIOUS. DESPITE PROMISES TO THE CONTRARY, HE HAS

YET TO REVEAL THE REASONS THAT HE SAYS REQUIRED A WORLD-WIDE U.S. ALERT DURING THE LATEST MIDDLE EAST WAR.

10. THESE DAYS, KISSINGER DOES MUCH OF HIS SOCIALIZING ALOFT. SINCE BECOMING SECRETARY OF STATE, HE HAS CUT DOWN ON HIS AFTER-HOURS ACTIVITIES IN WASHINGTON. HE STUDIOUSLY AVOIDS COCKTAIL PARTIES; IF FORCED TO ATTEND A RECEPTION, THE ABSTEMIOUS KISSINGER (WHO DOES NOT SMOKE) WILL SIP UNCONVINCINGLY AT A GLASS OF WINE OR UNCLASSIFIED

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CHAMPAGNE. WHEN HE DOES RELAX, IT IS WITHIN A SMALL CIRCLE OF FRIENDS. THEY INCLUDE THE WRITING ALSOP BROTHERS (STEWART AND JOSEPH), HUMORIST ART BUCHWALD (A REGULAR CHESS PARTNER) AND COLUMNIST TOM BRADEN AND HIS WIFE JOAN. A PLEASANT EVENING FOR THE CAPITAL'S MOST SOUGHT-AFTER GUEST MAY INCLUDE NOTHING MORE THAN DINNER AT THE BRADENS' WITH "FAVORITE DATE" NANCY MAGINNES, A NELSON ROCKEFELLER AIDE, FOLLOWED BY THE HOME SCREENING OF A MOVIE.

- 11. THE SECRETARY'S TWO CHILDREN, ELIZABETH, 15, AND DAVID, 12--HE WAS DIVORCED IN 1964--LIVE WITH THEIR MOTHER IN BELMONT, MASS. THIS WEEK WHILE THEY ARE ON SPRING VACATION, THEY WILL GET A TREAT THAT ANY SCHOOL CHILD WOULD ENVY. KISSINGER IS TAKING THEM TO MOSCOW.
- 12. LATELY, MOST OF THE SECRETARY'S MEALS HAVE BEEN EITHER ON THE ROAD OR IN HIS PRIVATE STATE DEPARTMENT DINING ROOM, WHERE HE HAS PLAYED HOST TO SUCH OFFICIAL GUESTS AS ISRAEL'S EBAN OR JORDAN'S KING HUSSEIN. AT LEAST ONCE A WEEK HE WILL HAVE BREAKFAST WITH DEFENSE SECRETARY JAMES SCHLESINGER. BOTH MEN INSIST THAT THEY

HAVE A HEALTHY WORKING RELATIONSHIP BASED ON MUTUAL RESPECT. "SCHLESINGER AND I ARE CLOSER TOGETHER ON STRATEGIC POLICY THAN ANY OTHER SECRETARIES OF STATE AND DEFENSE SINCE DEAN ACHESON AND ROBERT LOVETT," KISSINGER INSISTS. "WE HAVE NO BASIC DIFFERENCES ON STRATEGIC POLICY, ALTHOUGH WE MAY HAVE SOME TACTICAL DIFFERENCES."

13. KISSINGER'S GRUELING WORKDAY BEGINS SHORTLY BEFORE 8 O'CLOCK, WHEN HE LEAVES HIS TOWN HOUSE OVERLOOKING ROCK CREEK PARK FOR THE WHITE HOUSE. NORMALLY, HE SPENDS

THE MORNING THERE AND THE REST OF THE DAY, WHICH OFTEN DOES NOT END UNTIL MIDNIGHT, AT HIS STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICE. WHEN HE IS NOT TRAVELING, SATURDAYS AND MANY

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